000 2475. MV: Shoe-leather disk, also top of tin can used for recent buzzers. Using buzzer "makes people sick; don't use it much."

2483. SE: Name for buzzer similar to that for bird that makes whirring noise at night; when playing with buzzer people say they "are making the deer fat."

2484. WM: "The puisus (Achomawi) play this, but WM never do."

2485. WT: Informant had never seen Indians play this; had seen Whites doing it.

2489. AW: Names of 2 figures: Sundown; Spider's House.

[524] 2490. Kl, Mo, SW, AW: Popular moving figure is that of "2 coyotes running from each other."

2492. Mo: If play in summer, ensuing winter will be severe.

2494. SW: Figures made during first quarter of moon, in spring especially, to make moon grow (by stretching string).

2494a. Mo: Both informants stated stilts aboriginal. At: "Danced on ice with stilts". Like Mo informant, At informant had used stilts as girl.

2505. WT: Willow-bark bag, sand inside.

2508. Mo: 5-6.

2520. Mo, MM, MF: Narrators presented with small amount of food by auditors; NS: uncertain about this; MV: denied. Not inquired into for other groups. MF: Myths told to youths, men only (during secret society initiation?); informant for this group a woman.

[538] [855] 2522. Kl: Belief held more in jest than in earnest; told to small children who "would never go to sleep."

2523. SW: If myths told toward spring, look out for rattlesnake.

[481] [883] 2527. Kl: Youths "made to swim in winter anyway"; no rule which applies to myth telling per se.

## Social Dances

Circle dances.--

535 177 2529. Kl: See note 2076. Dance Kl brought back from N with drum was "a round dance; men and women danced, holding hands, men on 1 side, women on other of single circle, with fire inside in middle. It was held any time of year, but mostly in summer, just for fun. Given at night; people stopped dancing around midnight. [No leader who brought it back, or no data on such.] One man might say, 'Let's have fun'; people told each other; they came and danced. The drummer was the leader; he sang, and the men and women dancers sang too. The drummer stood by himself; just 1 man drummed. The [179] Kl no longer give this dance; the old people have mostly died." Mo: Dance relatively slight affair; 000 "a few young people assemble for 'evening joy' dance; join hands and go around fire in circle; old man watches them. When they become reckless, he stops dance." SW: Circle dance (k'aphek), an old summer dance, given for pleasure sometimes;

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

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An apprenticeship system had earlier been set up, with an Indian assigned to each artisan as assistant and understudy. Nickerson noted in 1882 that while "[the apprentices] are doing as well as uneducated Indians can be expected to do, not one of them . . . has had any school training, and but one can write his name."[17] Presently schoolboys began to take over some of these positions.

Many factors bore upon the effectiveness of the teaching. Elderly individuals today can recall the first bewildered days at school—sometimes relieved by the kindness of such teachers as one nicknamed by the children "Hummingbird"—but at best it was a difficult experience. "Nine tenths of them," wrote Emery of the newcomers, "know nothing of [English]. At first, when called to recite, they will dart under the seats, and have to be coaxed and helped from their hiding places by the hand of the teacher."[18] Not always was such tenderness displayed. Although one man, now deceased, recalled a generally pleasant experience and the kindnesses of matrons and teachers,[19] a contemporary bitterly recollected:

> In school they didn't allow us to talk in Klamath. We were punished if they caught us talking in Klamath. They would make us hold up a stick with our hands high. Sometimes they would make an older boy hold a fence rail on his back and walk around a tree stump. Sometimes one whole hour at a time. I never had to do that. Sometimes I would see the teacher or principal whip a boy with a good-sized willow. Sometimes they would make the boy take off his shirt and then the boy would never get over it. I felt that sometimes we boys should get together and give the teacher a whipping to see how he liked it. In the old Klamath days, the parents would switch the child on the legs or sometimes on his butt, but never that way—hard like that. . . .
>
> At school I had it pretty tough. I was cold and hungry. When we made noise at table, we had to be punished without any food. I had to take food from the table. Fish at night. The children had to steal apples.

Detailed as meatcutter, he recalls that the choicest cuts went to employees, the necks and ribs to the children. And he concludes, "I learned how to steal at school to keep from going hungry."[20]

There were games and ice skating, and the brass band. For the adolescents there were illicit sexual adventures. Some children

3 Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

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that seem bizarre. In evading prohibition, as already noted, tribal members learned successively to operate stills, to patronize and to serve as bootleggers, and to drink alcoholic extracts. For local roughs, the pug and the cowboy provided glamorous models; and several youths ventured upon the hard trail of the professional boxer. Although cowboy hats and boots were still worn in the latter days of the reservation, they were giving way among this set to the ducktail haircut and the leather jacket. Drag racing and drinking were pursuits as common among tribal adolescents in Chiloquin as among their peers elsewhere. The intermittent use of marijuana cigarettes and an occasional Pachuco tattoo were evidence of the selective adoption of Inframodal practices.

As a category, the inframodal Klamath were often the immediate descendants of some of the elderly individuals already mentioned, dependent upon them for money once they had squandered their own funds, sometimes residing with them, sometimes "shacking up" in a separate household in a common-law union. They formed but one range of the main body of tribal members, among whom they found associates perhaps as often as they did among their own sort. They did not habitually associate with Inframodal peers among other racial groups, but characteristically remained in small tribal cliques, of which the drinking groups were the chief stable expression.[22]

Those tribal members still on the reservation comprised a main body, upon which three lobes might be distinguished: the elders, the Inframodal, and those conformant to American standards. The latter alone had tended to become almost completely cut off from the major body of their fellow tribesmen, save for a few leaders, who had been able to keep the respect of both whites and Klamath. The remainder constituted a single society of strong egalitarian persuasions.

While recognizing that a single criterion must fail as a device for sorting out categories which are the product of such complexity, a first approximation was attempted in an analysis of the records of a random sample of tribal members in Chiloquin.[23] As sorting criteria, the subjects were first scaled against five somewhat overlapping entries involving behavior before the law. Then, working symmetrically from the extremes of the scale, they were

Lily: Female, Age 15

Background Data

Lily is an attractive young high school freshman. She is now repeating her freshman year, due to various difficulties the year before. One of these involved her cursing the principal, for which she was temporarily expelled, to be returned by her mother the next day. She spent the rest of the year in silent rebellion. This incident is not too serious, for more than anything else it indicates the strength of her attachment to a close-knit girls peer-group which is slightly wild and which makes it a matter of honor to oppose adults. There is little additional evidence of any serious hostility or rebelliousness. Lily is the eldest of two children; she has an elder half-sister, her mother's illegitimate daughter; and she has lived all of her life on the reservation.

Lily's major activities and concerns are those of a typical, small town teenage girl. She attends school, "hangs around" a local teen age center, flirts with the boys — White and Indian, dances — at her home or the home of a friend, and listens to records. She comes from one of the most stable families on the reservation. Her mother is Klamath, a grade school graduate who worked her way through two years of business school, evenings, in a nearby city. Her mother in recent years has begun to assume a position of leadership in certain community activities, particularly recreation and education. Additionally, she has for long been the advisor for numerous relatives. Her mother verbalizes great fear and anxiety associated with this "getting out" and has done so only under considerable external pressure. Her father is a California Indian who is the model of local White conceptions of masculinity. That is, he is vigorous and physically powerful, a hard, reliable, steady worker in a logging company, a hard "Saturday Night" style drinker, absolutely fearless, and a masterful fighter in brawls. His fights are the focus of several local folk anecdotes, and suggest his excellent reputation, for he protects the underdog, takes on the bully (by the half-dozen, if necessary), neatly dispatches all and never bears a grudge.

Lily is a more flexible and less submissive person that she would seem on first acquaintance. The difficulty with knowing her is that she wears a completely impassive, rigid, unexpressive mask before all. One morning after knowing her for a year the writer walked by her and then stopped, mildly startled, for Lily had smiled (slightly) and mumbled "Good Morning" under her breath. She is also less inhibited than this mask of impassivity would suggest, as is evident from her behavior with her peers and parents, but in all instances she prefers to communicate with slight gestures and to make do with very few words. She is, in fact, a remarkably self-possessed, poised, and reserved adolescent girl, a consequence of which is that she is far more graceful than many other local girls her own age. But, generally, her responses only minimally involve her with others. She is always among people, but not always with them. Her reserve does not dissipate much with continued acquaintance, but is a constant feature of her mode of adjusting to others. She never talks freely and her terse responses to the blots and TAT cards are paralleled by an equal economy in all personal relationships. There is no evidence to suggest that she is suspicious or distrustful of others, although she can be quite persistent in avoiding people she does not like.